1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

wife. That may simply have been an attempt to justify the fact that his wife was a good deal older than himself and that probably his sexual interests were minimal.

One of the prime requisites in a wife is that she be industrious. Whenever either men or women expressed what they considered the most prized qualifications in a partner, they generally agreed that women should work hard and that men should be rich. Obviously physical beauty enters also, but it is not a verbalized prerequisite. Beauty consists for both men and women of a light skin, small eyes, and wavy hair. In women firm, well-rounded breasts are admired and in men muscular strength. Actually it is extremely difficult to get a direct expression of judgment on anyone's appearance, since this belongs to the category of intimate remarks, of indiscretions, that it is essential to avoid. Early in my stay I threw a group of adults into considerable embarrassment by asking them to name the handsome men and women of the community. In the realm of physical attractiveness, cleanliness too is prized, and one of the indications of the adolescent interest in marriage is more frequent bathing and greater attention to hair combing. Once a woman marries and becomes a stable family member, too much cleanliness is looked upon askance as a token of flightiness.

The ideal, if not the normal matron is a woman who spends her whole working day in the field and in housework, minds her own business, is careless of her appearance, and goes to outlying fields with some reliable female companion. Needless to say, a great many women are not typical in this ideal sense of the word. Actually, vigorous, aggressive women who show masculine skills in finance and debate are referred to admiringly as men-women (*neng-mayoa*). Men with poor memories often rely on their wives to help them keep track of their financial involvements and they even send them on minor financial errands. Vice versa, men who possess female skills and aptitudes in gardening, gathering wood, cooking, and basketry may be referred to as women-men (*mayoa-neng*). Women usually speak with praise of a man who is skillful and diligent in horticulture and, contrariwise, women complain of men's lack of assistance in the fields almost as much as they do of their financial peccadilloes. In these cross-references from one sex to the other there are none of the derogatory connotations that go with our phrases of mannish woman or womanish man. It is evident, therefore, that theory stresses sex differences in activities, property ownership, and ideal types but that both sexes may, and often do, possess each other's capabilities without any particular onus being attached to the fact.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Chapter 7

Adults and Institutions

THE foregoing chapters have searched for the possible genesis of the modal personality in Atimelang and simultaneously have tried to indicate how that personality is both the product of social forms and the active agent in them. In this section the attempt will be made to search further for the interrelated forms and forces of personality as they manifest themselves in institutions, values, and everyday modes of emotional expression and behavior among adults.

STATUS AND FINANCE

In the formation of personality the devices furnished by the society for placing oneself in relation to other individuals are important. In other words, the status forms of a culture may well have significant repercussions on ego development. In Atimelang there are four main factors determining status: age, sex, wealth, and kinship. The age and sex factors are beyond individual control and function automatically. This might be an optimal orientation situation for the individual, although the reverse of the coin must not be forgotten since it automatically disfranchises women and the young. The wealth factor is considered almost a function of age, although in practice it is far from being so. It is noteworthy that wealth status is not formalized. There is hardly a trace of institutional expression of rank or of inheritance of financial position. Every man's financial resources are largely, although not completely, consumed in his death ceremonies, since the wealthier a man is, the more elaborate his postmortem prestige. Social prestige depending on wealth, therefore, must be constantly validated by individual effort. The burden as well as the rewards of such effort rests primarily on middle-aged men. The manipulation of the wealth-status system is one requiring constant vigilance, aggression, chicanery, and an excellent memory. The stress that successful competition places on a man is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that, if they have able sons, old men usually withdraw gradually from active participation and retain power only in an advisory capacity. They leave the actual dunning to younger and more vigorous men.

Every competitive system automatically implies that a large portion of the population will fail to achieve the goal set up by the culture. Granting, therefore, that a competitive system will automatically debar

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

a large number of its members from successfully achieving the desired goal, we have the problem of discovering which people are disfranchised and what compensatory roles they may play. In Atimelang, as in many other cultures, the female half of the population is debarred from cultural goals on a sex basis; women must either break with the cultural tradition, surrender any claim to the major prestige rewards of their culture, or derive it vicariously through aligning themselves with a successful male.

This last device may apply to groups of males also, as among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest, where a sib functions as a unit feeding the prestige activities of a titular head. In other societies with structuralized rank or with castes, large parts of the population are given restricted status positions that remove them from any competitive effort for prestige. In Atimelang it is assumed that all males will enter the competitive system. In fact, every man is practically forced into it if he is to marry and if he is to retain his health by placating in death feasts the potential malignancy of dead kin.

Overtly no differences in wealth are allowed for in middle age. Every middle-aged man who is married, has given a feast, or been associated with any transaction amounting to about one hundred dollars is called a rich man (*kafakai*). There are no formal terms for degrees of wealth, except by adding an intensifier, *berka*, meaning in this case "powerful," "potent," although, significantly enough, the more usual meaning is "bad." It is not customary to use this term, however, unless one wishes to flatter a man. Conversely the most bitter insult is to call a man "poor." Actually there seems to be no simple word meaning poor. One can say, "He has nothing" (*nala hopa naha*), or one can say, "Setang," meaning worthless, of no account. This, incidentally, is a term of reproach that is very frequently shouted at troublesome and naughty children.

The system of making no overt, outspoken distinctions in respect to wealth is carried even further. It will be recalled that an expression of opinion about physical appearance was hard to get. The same applied to all kinds of derogatory or flattering distinctions. It was just as difficult to procure a social judgment about a man's industry, his honesty, or his skill in craftsmanship. Good manners require that everyone, verbally at least, be granted an equal ranking even in the face of glaring discrepancies. When I discussed the matter with a young man, he said, "If anyone heard that I had said he was less rich, less industrious, or less handsome, he would be ashamed and would want to fight with me. He would be angry." Linguistically there is an interesting correlate of

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

this situation in the absence of comparative or superlative forms for modifiers. There are only intensifiers.

This state of affairs reveals several points. First, it suggests a considerable sense of touchiness. There is a good deal of stress laid on saving a person's face. This is carried so far that a man who has gone on an unsuccessful dunning trip may be given a small moko as a "luck token" (*makiling*) to carry home—not as a payment, but as a face saver. The next day a young boy may be sent to take back this moko, but the dunner has not had the humiliation of returning empty-handed.

All this may simply reflect some of the individual insecurity that the foregoing sections certainly indicate might well exist in Atimelangers. Furthermore, it expresses the conscious linkage in Atimelang between shame and anger. This is a perfectly accurate observation of the Atimelangers on their own psychology. What matters is what people say about you, and you protect yourself from derogation by a vigorous emotional discharge of anger. In this society, which has no organized police force and has only a recently introduced system of litigation, shame acts as the chief social sanction. Ridicule or derogation is simply the external expression of what a person feels as shame. It is a pattern, as we have seen, established early in childhood. But since shame produces anger and since there is no police force or law, anger must be diverted into other channels if the society is to have any cohesive quality.

That anger is not directed inward is evidenced by the rarity of suicide. Further, from the observations made on childhood it would appear that the relationships of that period would not foster the internalizing of sanctions. Hostility and shame must be directed outward upon the world but in a form sufficiently sublimated to prevent social chaos. As we have already seen, wealth is the answer. The dangers inherent in it are indirectly recognized, since newly purchased gongs and mokos are thought dangerous (i.e., illness-provoking) unless sacrifices have been offered them, and large wealth displays are considered sources of danger to young children. In many instances hostility is directed into wealth competition. At times, obviously, wealth as a means of expressing hostility will fail, and then recourse to direct violence alone remains. The result, at least in the past, was war.

QUARRELS

In the following discussion of quarrels and war and their association with wealth, the role of kinship as a form of status orientation will bear observation. Quarrels in Atimelang were incessant and of varying mag-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

SATELLITES

556 578 182 It is not expedient in this volume to elaborate institutional descriptions of various wealth activities. The gist of the foregoing pages has been to show a portion of that realm of activity concerned with wealth and hostility and to demonstrate some of the ways in which wealth may be used to express both status and aggression as well as to assist in the restraint of overt physical violence. It shows finally what happens when wealth fails to serve as an adequate check on anger. It has been evident that wealth situations may in themselves provoke extremes of violence. It is also evident that where extremes of violence have broken out, wealth again enters the picture to moderate an excessive multiplication of retaliations. All this discussion has been phrased largely in institutional forms. Only the man who is thoroughly successful financially can utilize such forms to the full, and obviously all men cannot be fully successful.

556 571 From observation some twelve middle-aged men of the Five Villages stood out as persons of particular financial power. These twelve men had six brothers among them who collaborated with them and were considered wealthy and powerful by association. This gives, as a rough estimate, some eighteen powerful men out of an adult male population of about one hundred and twelve. Those who must occupy the less privileged positions, I have called satellites for want of a better word. The society has no term to designate them, as the first paragraphs of this chapter indicated. These men function as allies and servitors of the more successful. They are depended upon when a show of strength is needed, on occasions like the ceremonial delivery of a dowry payment, a burial, or when labor is required for the building of a lineage house. At a large feast they do the slaughtering and cooking of meat. In bringing articles of value into the village they help dance in the object. In other words, whenever a crowd effect is needed or labor is required they lend assistance.

461 556 This assistance is particularly necessary where, as we have seen, a show of strength in physical and financial affairs is what counts. In addition, the wealthier and more important a man is, the more he considers physical labor beneath his dignity. Visiting, sitting, talking, and chewing areca are the only physical exertions worthy of a man aware of his importance. The very fact that one goes in for muscular labor [462] makes one's status suspect. Muscular labor is the role of women and the ● 554 young. Usually satellites have more or less remote kin affiliations with 602 the powerful man to whom they are attached. In return for their assist- 571 ance they receive loyalty and protection in those financial involvements to which every married male is more or less exposed. It is not

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

possible to give any numerical estimate of this group since their status relationships are so shifting. A man might be willing to assume a satellite relationship to a very rich and powerful kinsman, one in the upper ten per cent for example, but would not play such a role to a kinsman in the middle quartile of any hypothetical distribution curve of wealth.

This satellite role is of course markedly reminiscent of the fagging mentioned for growing boys and seems to be a persistence of the childhood role of being ordered about on small errands and duties. In greater docility, in more physical labor, and in the rendering of services, the satellite males approach the role expected of women. This is purely my interpretation. There was in Atimelang no thought of comparing the less successful men with women.

SKILLS

There are in addition a number of lesser skills, nonfinancial in nature, for which a man may acquire a certain reputation even though they procure him no social rewards. There follows a list of men with such skills, which I was able to obtain only indirectly in the course of extended observations. It is by no means complete but gives a sample of skills respected by the group. Not all the men listed here were in that somewhat vaguely defined satellite category. Those listed who were at the same time obviously men of considerable financial power have been starred.

Lakamobi of Alurkowati: calendarer; making of wooden mortars.
Rilpada of Dikimpe: a seer.
*Malefani of Dikimpe: burying lepers, making leprosy curses; a minor seer.
Riemau of Dikimpe: butchering animals and dividing meat at feasts.
Maieta of Lawatika: making village guardian spirit carvings.
Padamai of Folafeng: carving.
Fauseni Long Hair: carving; knowledge of ceremonial procedure.
*Maliseni: vigor and violence in debate.
Mangma of Karieta: genealogical information; industrious gardener.
Lakamau of Alurkowati: skill with bow and arrow; skill in extracting wax from people's ears.
*Atakalieta of Folafeng: making curses to protect fields from theft.
Nicolas of Folafeng: divination by means of chickens.
Atafani of Atimelang: fencing with clubs.
*Maikalieta of Atimelang: clearing new fields.
Manimale of Alurkowati: suspected poisoner.
Padatimang of Dikimpe: a seer.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

555 One source of status and distinction is not included on a current list
177 of minor skills; that is, bravery in war. Before the pacification of the island by the Hollanders a man might gain distinction through wealth or warfare. Today only wealth remains. For the successful warrior a special status term exists that means essentially a "killer," a "bad man" (*lilei*). Seers also have a special status term (*tinang*).

554 At present in Atimelang only two men are definitely at the nonprivileged end of the scale. One is a man about forty years old who has never married and never distinguished himself in any way. The other is a young simpleton who still associates with boys and is a docile servitor to his elder kin. Otherwise, even satellites and poor men are to some extent involved, or hoping to become involved, in the competitive system. Perhaps this is one reason, combined with others, that skills are on so low a level in the community. The foregoing list of people known
[461] for special abilities indicates the poverty of the range. It does not, however, indicate the triviality of the reward. Such skills may serve to identify their possessors, but little more. They are not substitutes for wealth, and the power they give over other people is minimal. They may arouse a modicum of respect but they give no true prestige.

736 The seer has opportunities for wielding social power, but that power,
565 though real, is covert. The payments he gets for curing are so small that they serve only as a supplementary source of income. His position is reminiscent of the more academic scientists in our culture, whose power is indirect and whose reward financially is not comparable to that of a "captain of industry." In the autobiographies are the histories of two seers, a man and a woman. I have the impression that they are both people with a considerable desire for power who are using the role of seer to inflate their own image of themselves because the financial role is largely blocked. Rilpada's life history and dreams deserve special study from that point of view.

461 It could be argued that such substitutive gratifications might be expected to flourish in a society where the cultural goal is so often associated with frustrations and difficulties. That they do not may be symptomatic of a general underdevelopment of mastery techniques. It is patent that in practically all specialties there is a singular slovenliness of achievement. Maikalieta, who is listed as a man distinguished for gardening, planted a field far too large for his labor resources for weeding it. A careful study I made of his expenditures in gardening feasts and of his returns revealed that he had lost out in the enterprise, although he did not seem aware of the fact.

Carvings of village guardian spirits, familiars, and the like are all

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

manic behavior there was much sly humor. In fact, all of these cases were frequently sources of considerable amusement to bystanders.

Probably all these persons were of the manic-depressive type. This psychosis is much more obvious and socially disturbing than certain other mental illnesses, which may account for the emphasis on them. Whether or not the individual's behavior is correctly reported, it is interesting that informants all stress as symptoms of insanity violence, both against people and property, obscenity, and scatologic behavior.

To summarize and to repeat the linkage among all the phenomena so far discussed, we find that spirit possession is associated with hyperexcitability and in its severer forms with manic episodes containing only poorly disguised suicidal impulses, although suicide is not institutionalized. Further, spirit possession in certain types of illness is interpreted as death and leads to the burial of live persons. All these factors may serve to keep toned down the avowedly possessional faculties of seers so that there is considerable doubt about true trance and a general lack of impressiveness in seers' performances, which, in turn, may be factors contributing to their lack of marked social recognition. Lastly, the attitudes and dangers clustering around spirit possession may explain the resistance to intoxicants.

BURIAL

All these digressions lead finally to actual behavior connected with death and burial. When a person dies, the male lineal kin set out immediately to secure the shroud and as many contributions as possible in makos, gongs, pigs, and food. The shroud will be worn after death by the deceased. This is part of his postmortem prestige, but since cloth is at a premium, this debt will have to be repaid at high interest rates, and around the shroud in future years will center most of the haggling for repayment. Forehanded kinsmen of the proper category see to it that they are prepared with a shroud of high value. Their eyes are on future profit. As a result the best pieces of cloth in the community are being continually put out of circulation. With the onset of death the female kin begin to prepare rice and corn. Not more than one or two women stay near the corpse to wail.

The spouse of the deceased is felt to be in so much danger from the dead that he leaves the immediate vicinity and stands guard with unsheathed knife, to prevent the ghost from carrying him off. For the following night and day he should not sleep. (These precautions are observed by both sexes.) Burial usually occurs not more than twenty-four to thirty-six hours after death, and it is courteous of friends to rush the procedure by urging the family on with comments about the stench of the body.

2: DuBois E-S (1938-1939) 1941 OFS Alor OFS

seems that throughout Indonesia the concept of man's creation from unhulled rice, In Atinese lang this widespread motif is altered so that man is created from unhulled rice and corn meal; that is, man is made from food.

Also food, rather than native currencies, is generally considered adequate pay for labor. The game-workers who help cultivate a large rice field, who assist in erecting a lineage house, who attend ceremonial funeral ceremonies, or who participate in similar ceremonial activities are all fed in return for their participation. When cooperative groups are formed for work in fields, the host of the day must furnish the midday meal.

There are other attitudes toward food which are perhaps less dramatic and instructional, but just as telling. If women are pounding rice or corn, any kernel which falls from the mortar is carefully picked up. Children of five or six have already absorbed this attitude and are as meticulous as the adults of both sexes. A single bean left in a pod during shelling will be retrieved by children as well as adults. In clearing ground even isolated food plants will be carefully preserved. The meticulous fashion in which all food articles are stored and used does not coincide with any actual scarcity.

The natives also refer frequently to the annual "hungry period." This is the end of the dry season when there is no actual want but only low of the preferred foods. For a month or two natives depend more on cassava and sweet potatoes than on corn. Yet the cultivators phrase this as a period of food stress. In addition there were references to periods of famine as though they were an ever present threat. Careful inquiry revealed only two periods of shortage within the memories of people between forty and fifty. Both of these were due to famines which had disorganized the community so that for one season the fields had not been as extensively planted and as carefully weeded as is customary. There is no doubt that food, especially of the preferred sort, was scarce on these two occasions, but it was preventable by purchase in nearby communities and there is no evidence that anyone died of hunger. There is, in fact, no indication that hunger is ever necessary if a proper amount of foresight and industry has been exercised. Perhaps one of the best indications that the concern over food scarcity is of psychological origin and not realistic is that there is no local hunger. No one ever references poverty or wealth in terms of land, although there is actually great variation between consumption units in the number and fertility of fields owned. This is no doubt a strong preconception with wealth as status in the culture. Data on the yield of the fields indicate that crops are good and on the whole adequate not only to feed the consumption units but also to provide surpluses for contributions to feasts.

In addition there is a singular agricultural fantasy in Alor. This concerns the so-called "good years" and "lost years" which come in alternate sequence. Theory has it that there is no use planting rice fields or any outlying plots during "lost years" because rodents will eat up the crop before it can be harvested. In the "good years" there are supposed to be fewer rats and there is a chance to lay in surpluses for large feasts. The theory of alternating years of rat plagues has no basis in reality. Essentially the idea is a fiction that every other year you are the helpless victim of depredations on your food supply. As one might expect, there are

2: Wilken--58 E-6 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Nias OP11
Timor OP28
Ceram OH1
Alor OP3
New Guinea OJ1
I 301 E54
NICA 301 E54

[37 cont.]

there are other distinctive signs. On Nias, those who have shown bravery in war may wear a neck ring cleverly fashioned from coconut shell, whereas on Timor, Ceram, the Solor Islands, etc., the brave are awarded a band made of goat hair for the calf of the leg, called gonor in Timorese (2).

2. Veth, Borneo's Westerafdeeling, Vol. II, p. 258. Meded. Ned. Zend. Gen., Vol. VII, p. 133. Goudswaard, op. cit., p. 20. Nieuw Guinea in 1858, p. 160. Van Rosenberg, Verh. Bat. Gen. v. K. en W., Vol. XXX, p. 166. Riedel, Revue d'Ethnographie, 1883, p. 75. Meijer, Ausland, 1872, p. 327.

Clothing

Men's Clothing

b. Penis Cover

NG 241 Among some tribes the ornaments that we have described in some detail are the sole covering of the body; this is the case, of course, only among the uncivilized, specifically among the Papuans of Humboldt Bay on New Guinea's northwest coast and the tribes near the Oeta River on the southwest coast. The men here commonly go about completely naked, with even their genitals uncovered. Some, however, use little tubes made of bamboo or of a gourd, in which they stick the penis. These tubes are sometimes so small that they do not cover the whole penis, but only the glans or merely part of the prepuce. It can hardly be assumed that these little tubes